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Brazil: Language Situation

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Background

The indigenous population in what is now Brazil was much higher in the past, with a multiplicity of societies and languages. According to Roosevelt (1994), the oldest pottery in the New World (6000–8000 years) is found in Brazilian Amazonia, on whose flood plains dense populations, divided into chiefdoms, lived at the time of European contact. Other regions of Brazil, such as the central highlands, the semi-arid northeast, and the more temperate southern region, were likewise home to sizeable indigenous populations, most of which were destroyed or absorbed. Over 40% of the modern Brazilian gene pool is of indigenous origin.

European contact began with the arrival of the ships of the Portuguese explorer Pedro Álvares Cabral in 1500. He encountered some Tupinambá on the eastern coast of Brazil. European immigration was relatively slight for the first two centuries. European men frequently took indigenous wives, and a class of mestizos was produced, which was important in the colonizing process, during which large numbers of native people were relocated and obliged to learn the language of the mestizo, *Língua Geral*, or *Nheengatu* (*Nhengatu*), a Tupí-Guaraní language originally spoken on the coast that was modified by substratum effects and borrowings from Portuguese. Several dialects of *Nheengatu* still persist in Amazonia. With the expulsion of the Jesuits in the mid-18th century, the state assumed control over the communities of resettled native peoples (*reduções*), where the population was already declining from occidental disease.

The regions of Brazil that have been occupied the longest have the fewest indigenous societies and languages, especially eastern Brazil, where few indigenous groups still speak their language. Rodrigues (1993) estimates that 75% of the indigenous languages became extinct. The surviving native groups are mostly in remote areas, especially in Amazonia, where contact with national society has been more recent and less intensive. There are still native groups living out of contact with the outside world. Newly contacted groups still commonly lose two-thirds of their population to Western diseases – an unnecessary loss, since the diseases responsible for this loss of life and language are preventable or treatable. A number of native political organizations exist in Brazil (for example, the *Coordenação de Organizações Indígenas da Amazônia Brasileira* – COIAB, and the *Federação de Organizações Indígenas do Rio Negro* – FOIRN)

and are active in debating policy and defending the interests of the communities that they represent. Indigenous affairs are under the control of the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI), and all researchers must obtain authorization from that governmental entity to enter indigenous areas, as well as approval from the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq).

The Study of Native Brazilian Languages

Some of the earliest descriptive studies of the native languages of the New World were conducted by Jesuits in Brazil, for example, Anchieta (1595). This tradition did not take hold, however. In the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, a number of nonspecialists, especially members of scientific expeditions, accomplished a certain amount of linguistic description. These include, notably, Karl von den Steinen, General Couto de Magalhães, Theodor Koch-Grünberg, Curt Nimuendaú, Emilie Snethlage, and João Capistrano de Abreu. Modern scientific studies of native Brazilian languages only began in the second half of the 20th century. Mattoso Câmara established the *Setor de Linguística* at the Museu Nacional in 1961 and also authored a book about indigenous languages (1965), though he was not a fieldworker. During a number of years, Brazilian research on indigenous languages was mainly done at the Museu Nacional and at the State University of Campinas (UNICAMP). However, in the second half of the 1980s the study of native languages spread to other centers, especially the Federal Universities of Brasília (UnB), Goiás (UFG), Pernambuco (UFPE), and Pará (UFPA), aside from the University of São Paulo (USP) and the Museu Goeldi, which is a federal research institute in Belém.

The anthropologist Darcy Ribeiro established a cooperation agreement between the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) and the Museu Nacional in 1956. This agreement was terminated in 1981, and there are now no formal ties between Brazilian academic centers and missionary organizations. Foreign missionaries have become less influential in the study of indigenous languages as their place is being taken to a certain extent by Brazilian missionaries and increasingly by professional and numerous Brazilian scientific linguists. A number of these latter have studied abroad in recent years, and upon the completion of their studies, they are strengthening the national capacity in scientific linguistics, especially in diachronic linguistics (see, for example, Meira and Franchetto, forthcoming), in recent theory and methodology, and

in overall descriptions of individual languages. The first complete grammar of a native language in decades authored by a Brazilian linguist was the description of Kamayurá by Seki (2000). More such general descriptions have been undertaken by young Brazilian linguists. There is, unfortunately, no national program for identifying and describing endangered languages in Brazil. However, a number of recent modern documentation projects with international funding have improved the level of documentation efforts. These are very popular with native groups. The small number of foreign nonmissionary linguists studying Brazilian indigenous languages has increased considerably in recent years.

Some modern information about Brazilian native languages appeared in a general work on South American languages edited by Klein and Stark (1985). Amazonia became identified as a distinct research area in linguistics with the publication of the *Handbook of Amazonian languages* series, edited by Derbyshire and Pullum (1986–1998) and the compendium edited by Payne (1990). Later useful general works with the same regional focus are those edited by Queixalós and Renault-Lescure (2000) and by Dixon and Aikhenvald (1999). These typically include languages outside of what is, strictly speaking, Amazonia, for example, the languages of the central highlands of Brazil. In recent years, volumes of the *ILLA* series have included many Brazilian languages, for example, the volumes edited by van der Voort and van de Kerke (2000) and by Crevels, van de Kerke, Meira, and van der Voort (2002).

In Portuguese, a general treatment of Brazilian languages is that by Rodrigues (1986). Rodrigues (1993) presents information on the situation of Brazilian native languages, but suffers from confusion between the number of speakers and the population size, which results in underestimating the degree of endangerment. Seki (1999) and Franchetto (2000) describe the study of indigenous languages in Brazil. Wetzels (1995) presents a collection of phonological studies. A recent collection of articles is that by Cabral and Rodrigues (2002). One Brazilian periodical dedicated exclusively to indigenous languages is *Línguas Indígenas Americanas (LIAMES)*, of UNICAMP. The *Boletim do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi* contains linguistics articles in its Anthropology issues. Articles likewise appear in the journals *Revista de Documentação de Estudos em Lingüística Teórica e Aplicada (D.E.L.T.A.)* of the Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, the *Boletim da ABRALIN*, and the *Cadernos de Estudos Lingüísticos* of UNICAMP. Of the many NGOs working with indigenous groups, the largest and most concerned with documentation is the Instituto Sócio Ambiental (ISA), whose website

is a valuable source of information and also publications (including maps) that can be purchased via the Internet. There is also a website and a listserv run by the Museu Antropológico, Universidade Federal de Goiás.

The Situation of the Native Brazilian Languages

Of course, Portuguese is the official language of Brazil. Impressionistically, Brazilian Portuguese is about as different from the Portuguese dialects in Portugal as American English is from the English dialects in Great Britain. There are many other languages spoken by immigrant communities in Brazil, especially German, Italian, and Japanese. We will focus attention here on the situation of the native languages. It must be emphasized that the information presented below is approximate, due to the lack of systematic data gathering about the situation of the native languages of Brazil. Even when population size is known, the number of effective speakers and the degree of transmission is often not known with certainty. What are considered to be different languages sometimes turn out to be dialects of the same language, often reflecting ethnic or political divisions. Much of the information is a revised version of information presented in an overview article about endangered languages in lowland South America by Moore (forthcoming), which is based on a number of sources, including Queixalós and Renault-Lescure (2000), Rodrigues (1993), Dixon and Aikhenvald (1999), the map of the Centro de Documentação Indígena (1987), the website of the Instituto Sócio Ambiental, the author's own knowledge of several regions, and personal communications from many linguists actively studying indigenous languages in various geographical areas.

Language names and the genetic classification are adapted from those of the Instituto Sócio Ambiental website, which are a 1997 adaptation of information from Rodrigues (1986). Names used by Ethnologue, if different, appear in parentheses after (note that Ethnologue's family names and categorization sometimes differ from the one used here). Population figures are normally from this same website; numbers from other sources are put in brackets. Speaker estimates are from various sources; when more than one source is used, the second is separated by placing it in brackets. Where no real information is available, the space is left blank. Since many tribal groups span national boundaries, it is important to note that all estimates are specific to Brazil and excluding speakers of those groups living in, say, Colombia or Venezuela. Likewise, the estimate of the amount of study refers to

studies carried out among speakers in Brazil, not in other countries. These estimates are very rough and can change quickly with the publication of new work.

Languages with little or no significant scientific description are rated 0; those with an M.A. thesis or several articles are rated 1, those with a good overall sketch or doctoral thesis on some aspects of the language are rated 2; and those with reasonably complete descriptions are rated 3. In the terminology used here for genetic groupings, 'family' means a group of related but different languages whose genetic relation is reasonably obvious, and 'stock' refers to a group of families whose relation is not so obvious. Because of the small size of the surviving speech communities and the precarious conditions in which they live, all might be considered to be in danger of extinction. However, it is more useful to distinguish those that are in serious, imminent danger of disappearing, either because of a low number of speakers, low transmission, or both factors. Some languages listed may already be extinct, but are listed anyway because a careful search sometimes finds remaining speakers somewhere, and that search may be abandoned if they are not listed. Languages are not considered urgently endangered if there are a reasonable number of speakers of at least one dialect or a reasonable number of speakers in another country. Larger groupings are considered first, following alphabetical order within the grouping.

Hypothetical Linguistic Stock

Macro-Jê Various authors have, on one basis or another, proposed groupings of languages often considered today as Macro-Jê. It is important to confirm or disconfirm each of the proposed genetic affiliations, some of which are not obvious. The Jê family of languages, the largest of the stock, is focused on the savanna regions of Brazil from the southern parts of the states of Pará and Maranhão south to Santa Catarina e Rio Grande do Sul. The other families of this hypothesized stock generally occur outside of Amazonia, mainly in eastern and northeastern Brazil, but with some in central Brazil and farther west. Rikbaktsa has been held to be the exception, apparently living for a long time in an Amazonian environment in northern Mato Grosso. Recent research, however, indicates that the Jabutí languages are probably Macro-Jê, as was speculated by some authors, indicating a wider and older presence in Amazonia as well. Because of their early contact with Europeans, many of the Macro-Jê languages in the east and northeast of Brazil are extinct, with or without some documentation. The last speaker of Umotína died recently (Table 1).

Major Language Families

Arawak The languages of the Arawak family, in its restricted sense, also designated Maipurean, have long been recognized as related, though proposed genetic links to other linguistic groups are more doubtful. The supposed link with the Arawá languages, for example, has no linguistic basis. The work of Noble (1965) influenced archeology, but is dubious in its conclusions. The Arawak languages are amazingly widespread, from the Caribbean to Bolivia. In Brazil, they occur in northern Pará state, on the tributaries of the Rio Negro in the northwest, along the Purus River in the west, on the tributaries of the Juruena River in Mato Grosso, and along the Upper Xingu River. The relatively numerous Terêna live in Mato Grosso do Sul. It is not certain whether or not there are still speakers of Mandawáka (Mandahuaca) in the region of the Upper Rio Negro. The Arawak languages are polysynthetic and often have gender and nominal classification (Table 2).

Carib The Carib family is centered on northern South America. The Carib languages of northern Brazil are rather similar, though Waimiri-Atroari (Atruahí) is more distant. The language called Galibi do Oiapoque is intrusive from French Guiana, where it is called Kali'na (or Carib in Surinam and Guyana). The Carib languages on or near the Upper Xingu are quite different from the northern languages and also do not constitute a single consistent subgroup (Table 3).

Pano The Pano linguistic family is not highly differentiated internally. It occurs in Peru, Bolivia, and Brazil, and is usually considered to be related to the Tacana family of Bolivia. The Brazilian Pano languages occur in the states of Acre and Amazonas, except for the Kaxararí in Randônia, and have received relatively little study. Sources are contradictory as to whether Amawáka is spoken in Brazil (Table 4).

Tucano Of the divisions of the Tucano family, Western, Eastern, and (for some authors) Central, it is mainly the Eastern branch which occurs in Brazil, though Kubewa (Cubeo), of the putative Central branch, also occurs there. Except for Arapaso, each of the Tucano languages of Brazil is also spoken in Colombia, where they have generally received more study. More recent sources doubt that Yuruti (Juriti) is spoken in Brazil. These languages are noted for tone or pitch accent, morpheme-intrinsic nasality, and complex obligatory coding of evidentiality. The languages are spoken in the region of the Vaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí Rivers. The speakers of several of them refer to themselves as Yebá-masā (Yepá-masā).

Table 1 Macro-Jê (Macro-Ge) stock

<i>Linguistic unit</i>	<i>Dialects, groups</i>	<i>No. of speakers</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Transmission</i>	<i>Studies</i>	<i>Endangered</i>
Boróro Family						
Boróro (Borôro)			1024		2	
Guató Family						
Guató		5 [40]	372	low	2	urgent
Jê Family						
Akwén	Xakriabá	0?	6000	none		urgent
	Xavante	most	9602	high?	1	
	Xerênte	all?	1814		1	
Apinayé			1262	high?	2	
Kaingáng	Kaingáng do Paraná		25 000 total Kaingáng		2 total Kaingáng	
	Kaingán Central					
	Kaingáng do Sudoeste					
	Kaingáng do Sudeste					
	Gorotire		7096 total Kayapó	high	1 total Kayapó	
Panará (Kreen-akore, Krenakarore)	Kararaô					
	Kokraimoro					
	Kubenkrankegn					
	Menkrangnoti					
	Mentuktíre (Txukahamãe)					
	Xikrin					
	all		202	high	2	
Suyá	Suyá	all	334	high	1–2	
Timbira	Tapayúna (Beiço-de-Pau)		58			
	Canela Apaniekra		458	high	2	
	Canela		1337	high		
	Ramkokamekra					
	Gavião do Pará (Parkateyé, Gavião, Pará)		338	low	2	
	Gavião do Maranhão (Pukobiyé)		250			
	Krahô		1900	high	1	
Xoklêng (Xokleng)	Krikatí (Krinkatí, Krikati-Timbira)		620			
			757	low	1	
Karajá Family						
Karajá	Javaé	most	919	good	2	
	Karajá		1860	high	1	
	Xambioá	10	185	none	0	
Krenák Family						
Krenák (Krenak)		10?	150	low	1	urgent
Maxakalí Family						
Maxakalí		most?	802		1	
Ofayé Family						
Ofayé (Opayé, Ofayé-Xavante)		25	56	low	1	urgent
Rikbaktsá Family						
Rikbaktsá (Érikpaksá, Rikbaktsa)			909	med?	1	
Yathé Family						
Yathê, Fulniô, Carnijó)		most?	2930	med?	1	

Table 2 Arawak (Aruák, Maipure) family

<i>Linguistic unit</i>	<i>Dialects, groups</i>	<i>No. of speakers</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Transmission</i>	<i>Studies</i>	<i>Endangered</i>
Apurinã (Ipurinã)			2779	med	2	
Baniwa do Içana (Kurripako, Kuripako, Curripaco)			3189 [5000]	high	3	
Baré		0?	2790	none	1	
Kampa (Axíninka, Ashêninca)			813		0	
Mandawáka (Mawaca, Mandahuaca) [Mawayána]		? <10	[3?] <10	none?	0	urgent urgent
Mehináku	close to Waurá	all	199	high	1	
Palikúr			918		1	
Paresí (Arití, Haliti, Pareás)			1293		1	
Piro	Manitenéri (Machinere) Maxinéri (Machinere)		[530] 459 [345]		0 0	
Salumã (Enawenê-Nawê)			320	high	1	
Tariana (Tariano)	Yurupari-Tapúya (lyemi)	100	1914	very low	3	urgent
Terena (Tereno, Terêna)			15795		1	
Wapixána (Aruma)			6500	variable	1	
Warekéna (Guarequena)			491		2	
Waurá	Close to Mehinaku	all	321	high	1	
Yawalapití		8	208	none	1	urgent

Many of these languages are quite robust, but have received little study in Brazil (Table 5).

Tupí The Tupí family consists of 10 branches, one of which, Tupí-Guaraní, spreads over a vast area, with extensions into Argentina, Paraguay, Bolivia, Peru, and French Guiana. Languages of this branch have been studied for centuries, but with more fascination for the Tupí-Guaraní dialects on the coast studied by the Jesuits, which contributed many loanwords to Portuguese and which achieved an almost classical status in Brazil, where the word ‘Tupí’ is sometimes used to refer to these dialects. Though Tupí-Guaraní is often thought to be somehow more central in the family, it is actually rather atypical. Awetí is apparently the branch most closely related to Tupí-Guaraní, and these two together with Mawé form a subgroup within the family. The Ramarama and Purborá branches form a subgroup also; the other relations are not obvious and are still being worked out. Research on the Tupi families in the western state of Rondônia, often considered the original location of the Tupi peoples, is rather recent. A number of languages important for comparative Tupi studies are urgently endangered (Table 6).

Medium-sized Language Families

Arawá The Arawá languages are spoken in a relatively circumscribed region centered on the upper and middle Purus and Juruá rivers. Their maintenance is generally good (Table 7).

Katukina The Katukina family of languages (not to be confused with Katukina do Acre, a Pano language) are spoken by groups on the Javaí, Juruá, and Jutuí rivers in southern Amazonas. Recently, Adelaar (2000) presented evidence that the Peruvian family Harakmbut is genetically related to the Katukina family of languages. Their study is urgent (Table 8).

Makú The Makú languages (not to be confused with the Máku language of Roraima) are spoken by hunter-gatherer groups mainly in the region of the Vaupés, though the Nadëb live lower on the Rio Negro. The Bará (Kakua, Kakwa) language (not to be confused with the Bará (Barasana) language of the Tucano family) is spoken on the border with Colombia, and it is not clear how many live in Brazil (Table 9).

Table 3 Carib (Karib) family

<i>Linguistic unit</i>	<i>Dialects, groups</i>	<i>No. of speakers</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Transmission</i>	<i>Studies</i>	<i>Endangered</i>
Aparáí (Aparáí)		most	415 [150?]	high	2	
Arara do Pará (Ukarāgmã, Arára, Pará)		all?	195	high?	1	
Bakairí		most	950	good	2	
Galibí do Oiapoque (Kali'na, Carib)			28	low?	0	
Hixkaryána		most?	[550]	high	3	
Ingarikó (Kapóng, Akwaio, Patamona)			675	good	1	
Kalapálo (Kuikúro-kalapálo)	Kalapálo, Kuikúru, Matipú, Nahukwá are dialects of one language	most	417	good	1	
Kaxuyána (Warikyána, Kaxuiána)	Shikuyana is dialect	most	69 [145]	low	1	
Kuikúru (Kuikúro-Kalapálo)		most	450 [500]	good	2	
Makuxí (Macushi)		most	16 500	high?	3	
Matipú (Matipuhy)		few	119	low	0	
Mayongong (Makiritáre, Yekuána, Maquiritari)		most?	426	high?	0	
Nahukwá (Matipuhy)		most	105	good	1	
Taulipáng (Pemóng, Pemon)		most	532	high?	1	
Tiriyó (Tirió, Trio, Trió)		all	735 [900]	high	3	
Ikpeng (Txikão)		all	310	high	2	
Waimirí (Waimirí-Atroarí Atruahí)		all	931	high	2	
Wai-Wai (Waiwai)		all?	2020	high	2	
Wayána (Wayana)		most?	450 [150?]	med?	1	

Table 4 Pano (Panoan) family

<i>Linguistic unit</i>	<i>Dialects, groups</i>	<i>No. of speakers</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Transmission</i>	<i>Studies</i>	<i>Endangered</i>
Amawáka (Amahuaca)			[220]?		0	
Arara (Shawanauá, Sheuanahua)	Arara, Shanenawá, Yamináwa, Yawanawá are perhaps dialects of one language	9?	200		1	
Katukina do Acre (Katukína Pano; Katukína, Panoan)			318		1	
Kaxararí			269		0	
Kaxinawá (Hãtx Kuin, Cashinahua)			3964	variable	2	
Korúbo (Korubo)			250		0	
Marúbo			1043	high	2?	
Matis (Matis)		all	239	high	2	
Matsés (Mayoruna)			829 [250]	high	2	
Nukini (Nukuini)		any?	458	none?	0	urgent
Poyanáwa		2	403 [180]	none	1	urgent
Shanenawá (Xipináwa)			178 [160]		1	
Yamináwa (Jaminawa, Yaminahua)			618		0	
Yawanáwa (Yawanowa)			450 [220]	low		

Table 5 Tucano (Tucanoan) family

<i>Linguistic unit</i>	<i>Dialects, groups</i>	<i>No. of speakers</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Transmission</i>	<i>Studies</i>	<i>Endangered</i>
Arapaso			328		0	
Bará (Waimajã)			39		0	
Barasána, (Barasana)			61		0	
Desána (Desano)	close to Siriáno		1531		1	
[Yuruti (Jurití)]	close to Tuyúka		[50?]			
Karapanã (Carapana)			42		0	
Kubewa (Kubeo, Cubeo)			287		0	
Makúna (Yebá-masã, Macuna)			168		0	
Pira-Tapuya (Waíkana, Piratapuyo)	close to Wanano		1004		0	
Siriáno (Siriano)			17 [10]		0	
Tucano (Tukano)			4604		3	
Tuyúka (Tuyuca)			593		0	
Wanano (Guanano)			447		2	

Nambikwara The Nambikwara languages occur in western Mato Grosso and southeastern Rondônia, in a region that includes both tropical forest and savanna, centered on tributaries of the Guaporé and the Juruena rivers (Table 10).

Chapakura (Txapakúra) The extant Chapakura languages are spoken in the state of Rondônia (and in Bolivia). Torá, in the state of Amazonas, is described by recent visitors as already extinct for many years. Recent ethnographers state that Urupá is extinct also. The Moré live in Bolivia, though there may be a few in Brazil (Table 11).

Yanomami The languages of the Yanomami family are spoken in Brazil and in Venezuela, by rather unacculturated groups. In Brazil these languages occur in the northern state of Roraima, near the Venezuelan border (Table 12).

Smaller Language Families

Bora Some speakers of the Miranha dialect of Bora reportedly live along the Solimões River in Brazil.

Guaikurú Kadiwéu, one of the Guaikurú languages (which tend to occur in the Chaco region of Paraguay and Argentina) is spoken in Mato Grosso do Sul in Brazil.

Jabutí The name of this family is a corruption of Djeoromitxi, one of its component languages. The languages are found in southern Rondônia.

Mura The language of the Mura and that of the Pirahã appear to have been quite close; often they are grouped under one name (Múra-Pirahã). There are occasional reports of elderly Mura speakers, though the Mura generally speak Portuguese or a dialect of Nheengatu (Table 13).

Isolated Languages

Seven languages are not known to be genetically affiliated with others. Of these, Aikanã (Tubarão), Kanoê (Kanoé), and Kwazá are in the same region in southern Rondônia. The language of the Iranxe (Irântxe) and Mynky is spoken near the headwaters of the Juruena River, in Mato Grosso. The Trumái are thought to have been relative latecomers to the Upper Xingu regional system. There is said to be only one Máku speaker, in the state of Roraima. The Tikuna (Ticuna) are numerous, living along the Solimões River, extending into Columbia and Peru. It is a sign of progress that, of these isolated languages, Kanoê, Kwazá, Mynky, Trumai, and Tikuna have received intensive modern study in recent years (Table 14).

Creole Languages

There are two groups in the northern state of Amapá, the Galibi-Marworno (Carib) and the Karipuna do Norte (Karipúna Creole French), both of whom lived for some time in French Guiana and speak creoles heavily influenced by the French-based creole of that country (Table 15).

Table 6 Tupí family

<i>Linguistic unit</i>	<i>Dialects, groups</i>	<i>No. of speakers</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Transmission</i>	<i>Studies</i>	<i>Endangered</i>
Arikém Branch						
Karitiána		all	206	high	2	
Awetí Branch						
Awetí		all	138	high	1	
Juruna Branch						
Juruna (Yuruna, Yudjá, Jurúna)		all	278	high	2	
Xipaia (Shipaya, Kuruáya)		2?	595?	none	2	urgent
Mawé Branch						
Mawé (Sateré-Mawé)		most?	7134	good	2	
Mondê Branch						
Aruá		12?	58	low	0	
Cinta-Larga (Cinta Larga)	Aruá, Cinta Larga, Zoró, and Gavião are dialects of one language	all	1300	high	1	
Gavião (Gavião do Jiparaná)		all	338	high	2	
Salamây (Mondê)		2 semi	10?	none	0	urgent
Suruí (Paitêr)		all	920	high	1	
Zoró		all	414	high	0	
Puruborá Branch						
Puruborá		2 semi	[50?]	none	0	urgent
Mundurukú Branch						
Kuruáya		3?	115	none?	0	urgent
Mundurukú		most	7500	high	3	
Ramarama Branch						
Karo (Arara, Arára)		most	184	good	2	
Tuparí Branch						
Ajuru (Wayoró)		8?	77	low	0	urgent
Makuráp			267	med?	2	
Sakurabiat (Mekêm Mekens)		25	66 [70]	low	2	urgent
Tuparí		most?	338	med-low	1	
Akuntsu		7	7	high	0	urgent
Tupí-Guaraní Branch						
Akwáwa	Parakanã	most	800	high?	0	
	Suruí do Tocantins (Suruí do Pará)	most	185	high?	1	
	Asurini do Tocantins (Asurini)	most	303	high?	2	
Amanayé		any?	192	none?	0	urgent
Anambé		6	132	none?	1	urgent
Apiaká (Apiacá)		0?	192	?	0	urgent
Araweté		most	278	high	0	
Asurini do Xingu (Asurini, Xingú)		most	106	high?	1	
Avá-Canoeiro		most?	14		0	urgent
Guajá		all	280	high	1	
Guarani	Kaiowá (Kaiwá)		34 000		2 total	
	Mbyá (Guarani, Mbyá)		total			
	Nhandéva (Chiripá)					
Kaapór (Urubu-Kaapór, Urubu-Kaapor)		most	800	high	2	
Kamayurá		most	355	high	3	
Kayabi		most?	1000	high?	1	

Continued

Table 6 Continued

<i>Linguistic unit</i>	<i>Dialects, groups</i>	<i>No. of speakers</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Transmission</i>	<i>Studies</i>	<i>Endangered</i>
Kawahíb	Parintintin		156		2 total	
	Diahkói		30			
	Juma (Júma)		7			
	Karipúna		21			
	Tenharin		585	med		
	Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau (Uru-eu-uau-uau)		all	87		high
Kokáma	Kokáma (Cocama-Cocamilla)	5	622	low?	2	urgent
	Omágua (Kambeba, Omagua)	few?	156 [240]	low?	0	urgent
	= coastal Tupi- Guarani altered by contact	>6000?		med	1	
Língua Geral Amazônica (Nheengatu, Nhengatu)						
Tapirapé			438		1	
Tenetehára	Guajajara		13100		2	
	Tembé		820	variable	2	
Wayampí (Waiãpi; Oiampi; Wayampi, Amapari)		most?	525	high?	2	
Xetá		3	8			urgent
Zo'é (Puturú, Poturu)		all	152	high	1	

Table 7 Arawá (Anian) family

<i>Linguistic unit</i>	<i>Dialects, groups</i>	<i>No. of speakers</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Transmission</i>	<i>Studies</i>	<i>Endangered</i>
Banawá-Yafí (Banawá)			215	high	1	
Deni (Deni)			738	high	1	
Jarawára (Jaruára)			160	high	3	
Kulína (Culina)			2318	high	1	
Paumarí			870	low	3	
Jamamadí (Yamamadí, Kanamantí)			800	high	1	
Suruahá (Zuruahá)			143	high	1	

Table 8 Katukina (Katukinan) family

<i>Linguistic unit</i>	<i>Dialects, groups</i>	<i>No. of speakers</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Transmission</i>	<i>Studies</i>	<i>Endangered</i>
Kanamarí		most?	1327		1	
Katawixí		10?	250		0	urgent
Katukina do Rio Biá (Pedá Djapá, Katukína)		few?	289		0	urgent
Txunhaã-Djapá (Tsohom-Djapá, Tshom- Djapa)		30?	100		0	urgent

Table 9 Makú (Maku) family

<i>Linguistic unit</i>	<i>Dialects, groups</i>	<i>No. of speakers</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Transmission</i>	<i>Studies</i>	<i>Endangered</i>
Bará (Kakua, Cacua)		[220]	in Brazil	?		
Dâw (Kamã)		83			2	
Húpda (Hupdê)	close to Yuhúp	1800	[1800]	high	2	
Nadëb (Guariba)		400			1	
Yuhúp (Yuhup)		400			1	

Table 10 Nambikwára (Nambiquaran) family

<i>Linguistic unit</i>	<i>Dialects, groups</i>	<i>No. of speakers</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Transmission</i>	<i>Studies</i>	<i>Endangered</i>
Nambikwára do Norte (Mamaindê; Latundê; Nagarotê; Nambiquára, Northern)		323	[346]	med	2	
Nambikwára do Sul (Nambikuára, Southern) Sabanê (Sabanês)		all 7 active	[721] [30]	good none	2 2	 urgent

Table 11 Chapakura (Txapakúra, Chapacura-Wanham) family

<i>Linguistic unit</i>	<i>Dialects, groups</i>	<i>No. of speakers</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Transmission</i>	<i>Studies</i>	<i>Endangered</i>
Kujubim (Kuyubi)	very close to Moré?	2?	27[50]	none	0	urgent
Oro Win		5?	50			urgent
Torá		0?	51 [250]		0	urgent
Urupá		?0	[150] any?		0	urgent
Warí (Pakaanova, Pakaásnovos)			1930	good	3	

Table 12 Yanomami (Yanomam) family

<i>Linguistic unit</i>	<i>Dialects, groups</i>	<i>No. of speakers</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Transmission</i>	<i>Studies</i>	<i>Endangered</i>
Ninam (Yanam)		466	11 700	high	2	
Sanumá		462	total	high	2	
Yanomám (Yanomae, Yanomaño)		4000		high	2	
Yanomami (Yanomámi)		6000		high	3	

Table 13 Small families

<i>Linguistic unit</i>	<i>Dialects, groups</i>	<i>No. of speakers</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Transmission</i>	<i>Studies</i>	<i>Endangered</i>
[Bora Family]						
[Miranha]	dialect of Bora	few?	613		0	
Guaikurú (Guaicuruan) Family						
Kadiwéu		most	1592 [900]	high	2	
Jabutí Family						
Djeoromitxí (Jabutí)		30?	123	low	1	urgent
Arikapú		2	19	none	1	urgent
Mura Family						
Mura (Múra-Pirahã)		any ?	5540	none	0	urgent
Pirahã (Múra-Pirahã)		all	360	high	3	

Table 14 Isolated languages

Linguistic unit	Dialects, groups	No. of speakers	Population	Transmission	Studies	Endangered
Aikaná (Masaká, Kasupá, Tubaráo)			264	med?	2	
Iránxe (Irântxe)	Mynky (dialect)		326		2	
Kanoê (Kanoé)		5	95	low	2	urgent
Kwazà (Koaiá)		25	25 [40]	low	3	urgent
Máku		1	[1]	none	1	urgent
Trumái (Trumai)		51	120	low	2	urgent
Tikúna (Ticuna)			32 613		3	

Table 15 Creole languages

Linguistic unit	Dialects, groups	No. of speakers	Population	Transmission	Studies	Endangered
Galibi Marwono (Carib)			1764 [860]		0	
Karipuna do Norte (Karipúna Creole French)			1708 [672]		1	

See also: Arawak Languages; Benveniste, Emile (1902–1976); Cariban Languages; Endangered Languages; Evolution of Semantics; Guarani; Meaning: Pre-20th Century Theories; Polysemy and Homonymy; Tupian Languages.

Language Maps (Appendix 1): Map 51.

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Bréal, Michel Jules Alfred (1832–1915)

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Bréal, French linguist and one of the founders of semantic linguistics, studied Sanskrit in Berlin with Bopp and Albrecht Weber. He received his Ph.D. in 1863, defending the thesis *Hércules et Cacus. Étude de mythologie comparée* and *Des noms perses dans les écrivains grecs*. In 1864, he became a professor of compared grammar at the Collège de France.

In 1868, he joined the group that founded the *École des Hautes Études*, where he became director and was, for a time, Ferdinand de Saussure's professor. From 1879 to 1888, he was Inspector General of French Public Instruction. His work was dedicated to three domains: the study of ancient inscriptions and myths, the study of historical and compared linguistics, and reflection on questions related to teaching.

He himself named his work in linguistics *semantics*, having been the first to use this word in a linguistic discipline (Bréal, 1883). In these studies, Bréal included himself in the historical perspective of the 19th century and considered that semantics deals with the change of the signification of words (Delesalle, 1988). He differed from the comparativists of his time (Aarsleff, 1981; Delesalle, 1980), as he considered that language does not reduce to forms and that its study must necessarily include the meaning (Bréal, 1866).

Changes in language are not natural, ruled by inevitable laws, but occur by man's willful action and intelligence. Willful action, which is not conscious, is constituted by the slow and groping agreement of the will of many, a collective will. Intelligence is a faculty of knowledge and has its origin in the functioning of the sign. Language represents an accumulation of intellectual work. Therefore, language is not a natural science; it is historical and cultural (Bréal, 1897).

In this domain, Bréal established a fundamental concept in semantics studies – that of polysemy –

and this aspect can be found in the work that synthesizes the principal points of his production (1897). Willful action and intelligence change the signification of a word that, not losing its previous signification, takes on more than one meaning. Polysemy is the result of history and is one of the places that represent the accumulation of the intellectual work of the language.

Another important aspect, also present in the *Éssai de sémantique*, is what he called the subjective element. He who speaks is marked in what he spoke. In languages there are the forms that, when used, mark this presence. Personal pronouns are one of the examples of these forms, which would later be crucial in the work of Émile Benveniste.

See also: Bopp, Franz (1791–1867); Weber, Albrecht Friedrich (1825–1901).

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